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English as a multicultural language: implications from a study of Japan's junior high schools' English language textbooks

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Applying Kachru and Nelson's model of English spread and their categorisation into Inner/Outer/Expanding Circles, this content analysis of English as a Foreign Language textbooks used in Japanese junior high schools investigates which countries were introduced and further studies how Japan's domestic diversity was constructed in those textbooks. Furthermore, to scrutinise representations of Japan's domestic diversity, this study examines what types of individual located in Japan were represented in the textbooks. The concepts of race and ethnic relations in a global context will be discussed to understand representations of individuals. Drawing upon the concept of English as a multicultural language, this study suggests that this multicultural perspective would not only promote understanding varieties of English use in Asian contexts but would also help educators and students recognise the internal diversity of Japan where multilingual and multicultural communication takes place.

Keywords: EFL; cultural diversity; Japan; globalisation; education

Introduction

Since the world economy requires language variety for communication among people with different mother tongues, the English language has gained importance in business and economic spheres (Pennycook 1994; Phillipson 1992; Tollefson 1991).¹ Moreover, as societies have become globalised, English has been increasingly used by non-native speakers as well as native speakers of the language. Kachru and Nelson (1996) illustrated the spread of English historically and geographically by categorising three major types of English use in the world: (1) the Inner Circle where native English speakers learn English as their first language; (2) the Outer Circle countries where English is taught in the colonial context such as in Asia and Africa; and (3) the Expanding Circle countries where English is taught as an international/foreign language. However, such categories may disappear or need to be modified as societies evolve. For example, Yano (2009) argues that since many schools in Asia and Africa use English as the medium of instruction, those second-language speakers in the Outer Circle may become functionally native speakers. In addition, people in the Expanding Circle localise English to fit it best for their own needs, and new varieties of English are created in 'de-Anglo-American' contexts (Honna 2000, 11; Yano 2009, 248).

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Consequently, the English language has diversified its statuses and further become prominent in multicultural settings. Honna (2000, 9), a pioneer of English uses in Asian contexts, defines English as 'a multinational language and therefore a multicultural language'. He explains that English is now used in non-Anglo-American cultural contexts and is 'a working language for intranational and international communication in many parts of the region' (Honna 2000, 11). While native speakers of English often think that they own the language, English also belongs to non-native speakers who create varieties of it. By the same token, non-native speakers may also believe that English is the language of the Inner Circle, more specifically, the property of the USA and Great Britain (Honna 1995; Matsuda 2002). Thus, many English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners possibly think that they should speak English in the same way native speakers do. Perhaps this false perception leads to feelings of shame (Honna 1995) about non-native varieties of English used by speakers in the Outer and Expanding Circles. This shame may, in turn, result in non-native speakers avoiding acknowledgement of the values of these varieties, particularly in multicultural contexts. Therefore, it is necessary to recognise varieties of English and understand 'the possibility of appropriating English in order to create new meanings and identities rather than simply modelling the Inner Circle varieties' (Kubota 1998, 304). If varieties of English exist, then, what types of 'new meanings and identities' will be constructed and expressed in EFL textbooks?

The purpose of this article is to examine how English-speaking communities were constructed and represented in EFL textbooks in order to suggest new directions for incorporating multicultural perspectives in the EFL textbooks. In the content analysis of EFL textbooks used in Japanese junior high schools, which countries were introduced and how Japan's domestic diversity was constructed in those textbooks were investigated. Previous studies of the Japanese EFL textbook representations (Hino 1988; Matsuda 2002; Yamada 2006) reported that Japanese cultural content was most commonly included in the EFL textbooks. Focusing on the Japanese context within EFL textbooks, this case study re-examined and extended the analysis to Japanese EFL textbooks published from the 1980s to the 2000s. Thus, this study identified how varieties of countries were represented within English-speaking contexts and who could be identified as using the language in those contexts. To further understand representations of individuals within the text, the discussion of global race and ethnic relations will suggest how those textbooks construct the meaning of domestic diversity. Finally, I will present that the idea of English as a multicultural language helps both EFL learners and teachers to develop a broader view of the changing world and gives them an opportunity to extend their interests associated with learning about cultures and languages.

Background - English as a foreign language (EFL) education in Japan

English instruction, particularly at junior high schools, has been emphasised throughout the 1980s to the present (Kubota 2002), and during this time, the materials, including textbooks, have dramatically changed. While the focus of instruction has traditionally been on written English and grammar, the 1989 Course of Study (Ministry of Education 1989) emphasised acquiring communicative skills in oral language. Learning English became mandatory for junior high school students in 1998 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology [MEXT] 2004). Furthermore, in the report of the Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's

Goals in the 21st Century (2000, 10), English was situated as a global literacy: '[G]lobalization will lead to increased mobility of people and more foreigners living in Japan, so that contact and interaction with other cultures will deepen'. Therefore, 'the mastery of the English language as the international lingua franca' and its 'communication skills' were seen as absolutely inevitable to actively participate in the formation of global systems. If the learning objective, as articulated by MEXT (2004, 90), is 'to develop students' basic practical communication abilities such as listening and speaking, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude towards communication through foreign languages', how has the English language curriculum accomplished this goal?

In the field of second or foreign language education, the importance of cultural understanding and intercultural communication has been increasingly emphasised (Curtis and Romney 2006; Herman 2007; Kubota 2002; Kubota and Lin 2006, 2009; Kubota and McKay 2009; Nakamura 2004). For example, Herman (2007) suggested that sensitivity to racial stereotypes needs to be taught in a more complex and sophisticated way. Given this discussion, teaching about diversity, and more specifically, racial and ethnic groups, is relevant in the EFL curriculum. If English as an international/foreign language is intended to foster 'a positive attitude towards communication through foreign languages', it is, indeed, essential for EFL learners and teachers to recognise that multiple realities exist and that individual speakers of English bring their own cultures and identities into their interactions.

Furthermore, the relevance of teaching about diversity may be justified by the argument of teaching varieties of English. Matsuda (2002) explained that it is important to acknowledge the increasing use of English among non-native speakers for several reasons, two of which pertain to this study. First, if EFL learners do not learn varieties of English, they may not be aware of their full opportunities through communication in English. The EFL learners may even assume that they are expected to follow and conform to the Inner Circle norms, which may keep them in a marginalised position. Second, this limited perception of English use may induce confusion or resistance towards the English users and uses in the Outer and Expanding Circles, and this misunderstanding ends up creating a bias about English speakers.

The diversified status of Englishes has broadened EFL learners' views of the English-speaking world today and have required them to understand social contexts behind the language. In this sense, the EFL classroom may offer opportunities for EFL students to learn about the world overseas, and the English language textbooks can be considered one of the major sources of influence on students' perceptions about the world as well as English uses (Matsuda 2002). Moreover, studying English will bring them into direct interactions with other English speakers who have different cultural backgrounds.

Despite the fact that Japan has experienced multicultural phenomena, the issues of diversity may not be paid full attention. After the influx of immigrant populations, particularly those from Asia in the 1990s, the insufficient attention to racial and ethnic diversity within Japan as well as around the world has been criticised by other nations (Douglass and Roberts 2003; Lee, Murphy-Shigematsu, and Befu 2006; Lie 2001; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008). While Japan's early emphasis of internationalisation² intends to make Japan recognised as a distinct entity to the rest of the world, the process of globalisation, which searches for a unified and integrated common culture in western societies, engenders conflict within the local

cultures (Kubota 2002). As a result, the external phenomena of globalisation shed light on Japan's lack of attention to internal ethnic and linguistic diversity.

Race and ethnicity in a global context

In sociology, the concepts of 'race' and 'ethnicity' are understood as social constructions. Kivisto (2002) explains that there are three major positions regarding the discussions of 'race' and 'ethnicity'. The first position is to understand that race and ethnicity are different notions and should be treated as being analytically distinct. The second position is to acknowledge that race and ethnicity overlap in some circumstances although they have distinct features. The third position is that race should be viewed as a subset of ethnicity, while ethnicity should be treated as the overarching term. Although the idea of 'race' and 'ethnicity' is fluid, it is important to use both concepts to fully investigate 'how people define situations and to determine what the implications of those definitions are for social relations' (Kivisto 2002, 18).

In recent years, the world has experienced global migration flows. Illuminating racial and ethnic relations in a global context, Kivisto (2002, 2) explains that the salience of ethnicity has been justified by the following two aspects: 'the migration of newcomers into various nations throughout the world', and 'the resurgence of nationalism among long-established minority groups within existing states'. Thus, ethnicity is a key to understand human relations in globalised societies. In fact, these two phenomena are observed in contemporary Japan (Douglass and Roberts 2003; Gottlieb 2008; Lee, Murphy-Shigematsu, and Befu 2006; Lie 2001; Sugimoto 2003; Tsuneyoshi 2004; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008). As of 2004, the 1,974,000 foreign immigrants, including both oldcomers and newcomers, were officially registered in Japan and accounted for about 1.5% of the total population (Gottlieb 2008). Japan's diversity may not be visible because of the pattern of its diversification called 'diversity points', in which 'patches of visibly diverse districts ... are scattered amidst a vast sea of seeming homogeneity' (Tsuneyoshi 2004, 57). Indeed, those immigrants are not simply temporary labour, but they are residents who have settled in Japan and have shaped its diversity (Burgess 2004; Tsuneyoshi 2004). Meanwhile, the efforts of Japan's ethnic minority groups to assert their ethnic identities and restore their indigenous rights have become more evident. For example, despite the long-time oppression of Japan's past assimilation policies, the Ainu, Japan's indigenous population, has promoted social movements and activities for their cultural inheritance (Gottlieb 2008; Sugimoto 2003).

Along with human migrations in globalised societies, recent discussions of multiculturalism have increasingly focused on ethnic groups and conflicting notions about the significance of citizenship in contemporary societies. Indeed, 'nationality' is an issue in contemporary ethnicity formation and ethnic relations, because as Kivisto (2002, 19) suggested, nationality is a politicised form of ethnicity: 'while territorial claims and a political agenda are inherent in the definition of nationality, such is not necessarily the case for ethnicity'. However, national identities in pluralistic societies may not be a politicised form of any ethnic group affiliations but can be seen as constituting a form of corporate loyalty because 'notions of citizenship and patriotism offer a sense of a more universal identity within the nation that transcends the particularistic identities of ethnicity' (Kivisto 2002, 19).

Therefore, nationality can influence ethnic identity and social solidarity, and thereby affect both individual and collective actions.

In post-racial and -ethnic societies, racial and ethnic identities may become obscure and even negotiable. Healey (2010) explains that one post-racial condition in the USA is the diminishing power of race. In the post-racial society marked by a growing diversity of immigrants and an increasing population of mixed-race individuals, 'racial identity has become an individual choice - not unilaterally imposed by the larger society' (Healey 2010, 224). Furthermore, Hollinger's discussion of a 'postethnic [sic] America' (1995) argues that people should maintain the positive values of cultural diversity while not being bound by normative attitudes of multiculturalism. In this sense, 'post-ethnic' means that individual cultural heritage can be retained and transcended. Therefore, in a post-racial and -ethnic society, individuals may attach a variety of meanings to those terms 'race' and 'ethnicity'.

Related to this individualistic view of 'race' and 'ethnicity', the concept of 'metroethnicity' (Maher 2005), may reflect one condition in a post-ethnic Japan. Metroethnicity describes how young urban Japanese, both mainstream and minority, embrace multiculturalism, cultural/ethnic tolerance and a multicultural lifestyle, especially in friendships, music, food and dress. This individualistic self-reflection of one's ethnicity describes the way in which people with different and mixed cultural backgrounds negotiate their ethnic identities by reinterpreting conventional values and meanings of ethnicity. Maher (2005) even predicted that the past struggle of Japan's language minorities may be giving way to this new metroethnic phenomenon.

In fact, one characteristic of globalising and increasingly multicultural societies is that 'even those societies that have held on to very homogeneous national/ethnic identities have been challenged to recognize the diversity within' (Tsuneyoshi 2004, 56). Indeed, the notion of Japan's homogeneity had been a key component in maintaining its present social systems and was considered 'an advantage during the twentieth century, when there was a need to learn from the West' (The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century 2000, 11). However, ethnic diversity within Japan is now emphasised as the nation's strength that will increase individuals' socio-economic mobility (The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century 2000). In this sense, it is possible that Japanese perceptions of race and ethnicity have begun to change through the globalisation process. At the same time, a globalising Japan may be facing a new challenge of identity-construction through newer, more complex conceptualisations of 'race' and 'ethnicity'.

Ideologies of textbooks

Textbooks, as cultural artefacts, can be studied to understand ideological discourse, which according to Geertz (1964), are holistic systems created through social and cultural practices. Indeed, school textbooks project images of society and culture, and the contents are considered important in many nations (Valverde et al. 2002). For example, textbooks used in Japanese public schools are determined by the MEXT Textbook Examination Committee and are developed and produced by private textbook publishers. After these texts are reviewed for suitability by the Textbook Authorisation Council, the MEXT decides whether to approve them. Under this system, textbook publishers are only permitted to produce textbooks that

correspond with all guidelines of a Course of Study. Therefore, it can be said that the ideologies of Japanese textbooks are shaped by the Course of Study mandated by the MEXT, which in turn is affected by political forces influencing where Japan sees itself on the international stage. Furthermore, the textbook is a major source of information for understanding cultural and ideological conflicts because the choice of content is related both to existing relations of domination and to struggles to alter these relations. Ideological changes due to the globalisation influence, therefore, may be presented in textbooks and can be examined through textual analysis.

Because the spread of English has become prominent among non-native speakers (Honna 2000, 2008), English may be relevantly used in the Japanese context where people from non-western cultures interact. Thus, within textbooks, this evolving notion of English varieties may be observable and may require understanding the function and use of English in specific contexts. For example, Nozaki, Openshaw, and Luke (2005) pointed to the limitations of western approaches to analyses of education in the Asia-Pacific region. To fully understand the specific voices and struggles over education in Asia, researchers need to engage with regional, local and community-specific manifestations of the educational discourses and practices. Therefore, it is critical for researchers to take this locally situated standpoint in order to conduct more precise analysis of English uses in each context.

The use of this locally situated approach helps us understand the meanings of the spread of English. Learning the English language is strongly linked to the distribution of wealth, power and privilege. The spread of the English language may contribute not only to the unequal distribution of the global economy and cultural resources but also to the protection of the interests of English-speaking countries (Pennycook 1994; Phillipson 1992; Tollefson 1991). However, the recent discussions of the de-Anglo-Americanisation of English (Honna 2000, 2008; Yano 2009) and Asian Englishes (Kachru 2005; Kachru and Nelson 2006; Tsui and Tollefson 2007) have justified the diversified statuses of English and the localised roles of English. In the context of Japan, Hashimoto (2000, 40; 2007, 27) considered Japan's internationalisation as 'resistance to English language imperialism'. She further discussed that while Japan has emphasised English language acquisition, it has also resisted 'the cultural homogenisation brought about by globalisation and the linguistic domination brought about by the spread of English'. From Hashimoto's view (2000), English in non-Anglo-American contexts, more specifically in the Japanese context, can be interpreted as a resistance to Inner Circle English domination and conflicts associated with the intersection of globalisation and localisation.

A number of education researchers in the field of English as a second/foreign language (Hino 1988; Kubota 1998; Matsuda 2002; Nakamura 2004) have discussed the issues of ideology within the English language curriculum, including textbooks, and such resistance to English language domination can be seen in two previous studies. Hino (1988) noted that although the Anglo-American values were dominantly mentioned in earlier English textbooks, the components of Japanese culture were more frequently featured in later textbooks during the 1980s. Similarly, Matsuda (2002, 190) reported that 'Japan is the most common context for English use' after an examination of Japanese seventh graders' EFL textbooks published in 1997. These studies both show that the content of the English language textbooks reflects the socio-political transitions of the times. Given those discussions, language planning and language policy activities should respond to social changes in Japan.

Kokusaika or internationalisation in the 1980s aimed to affirm Japan's distinct identity by dealing with external internationalisation, especially in its communication through westernisation and Americanisation (Kubota 2002; McCormack 1996). Since the 1990s when the term *gurobaruka* or globalisation started to be used, Japan has been challenged by new transcultural flows. Therefore, Japan's earlier emphasis on kokusaika became contradicted and resulted in the neglect of its internal internationalisation or local ethnic and linguistic diversity (Burgess 2007; Kubota 2002). This study of Japanese EFL textbooks, thus, examines how these new complexities in race and ethnicity are incorporated.

Methods

Japan's junior high schools' English language textbooks (Grades 7–9) with copyright dates between 1981 and 2010 were subjected to a simple form of content analysis. Among the six types of EFL textbooks, New Horizon: English Course (Tokyo Shoseki Co. Ltd.) was chosen because it was the most widely used. This study does not intend, however, to generalise all the English language textbooks used in Japan. Some differences in cultural viewpoints among the six textbook publishers should be acknowledged, and the examination of those differences over the textbooks will require further research.

To determine the sampled textbooks, I utilised the information from both 'Chugaku Eigo Kyokasho Saitakuhyo (Adoption of Junior High Schools' English Language Textbooks)' and 'Koritsu Chugaku Saitakuhyo (The 2008 Adoption of Public Junior High School Textbooks)' which provided information on textbook selection in each prefecture. According to Table 1, 282 out of 590 or 47.7% of public school districts in all 47 prefectures adopted New Horizon. This was more than double the next most popular textbook.

Different editions of New Horizon were published in 1981, 1984, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2006 and 2010. In addition, there were three levels of textbooks: New Horizon 1 (expressed as NH1 below) for Grade 7; New Horizon 2 (NH2) for Grade 8; and New Horizon 3 (NH3) for Grade 9. Thus, a total of 27 textbooks were reviewed. The structure and content of all the textbooks were similarly organised. Each contained 6–15 lessons, and the main texts consisted of dialogues, stories, folktales and individual letters; a total of 232 core lessons were examined.

Table 1. English textbook selected (as of 2008).^a

Title	Publisher	Number and % of districts
New Horizon	Tokyo Shoseki	282 (48%)
New Crown English	Sanseido	120 (20%)
Sunshine	Kairyudo	96 (16%)
Total English	Shubun Shuppan	51 (7%)
One World	Kyoiku Shuppan	32 (5%)
Columbus English	Mitsumura Toshio	9 (2%)
		Total: 590 (100%)

^aThe data adopted from 'Chugaku eigo kyokasho saitakuhyo (adoption of junior high schools' English language textbooks)' at <http://cc.columbia.co.jp/ep/shohin/saitaku.htm>

The analysis of contexts was conducted by reviewing lessons. As the first step, the question, 'Which countries/continents were introduced in the EFL textbooks?' was asked to ascertain the breadth of depicted racial and ethnic diversity. Thus, each time a country and continent were named, it was added to the frequency of appearance for that country or continent. Pronouns referring to the named countries or continents were not counted. In order to explore the spread of English use, Kachru and Nelson's model (1996) was employed. Next, the focus was on which Asian countries were featured and how often those countries appeared in the EFL textbooks. Finally, the focus turned to Japan, asking how frequently the nation appeared and what types of individuals were represented.

To categorise types of individuals located in Japan, I counted the number of individuals mentioned in each lesson. Words that refer to physical features (e.g. skin colour, eye colour, hair and other facial features) were used to identify racial characteristics. I searched for words to indicate physical features such as 'white' American. To determine ethnic characteristics, nouns that indicate cultural traits were investigated. For example, the words included but were not limited to the following: names of countries or national origins (e.g. Japan and Japanese), religions (e.g. Islam) and languages (e.g. Japanese). If the text did not provide information to determine any cultural traits, I reported 'unidentified'. In addition to these words, I also searched for whether the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' were used in the text. Although all the textbooks contain texts accompanied with drawings and/or photographs, only the verbal content of the textbooks were examined for this study.³

Results - the representation of countries and continents

In total, one continent and 24 countries are featured. Overall, the coverage of the west, especially North America, is dominant in the 1980s editions, whereas the percentages of Asia and those of the west become very close in the 1990s and 2000s editions. More specifically, the coverage of North America is almost stable over the period, while that of Europe dramatically declines.

By using Kachru and Nelson's model (1996) of English uses, Table 2 summarises the results of the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle countries represented in the EFL textbooks. As shown in Table 2, the percentages of the coverage of the Inner Circle countries are 54% in the 1980s, 46% in the 1990s and 48% in the 2000s. Among those, Australia, Canada and the USA are consistently covered. The Outer Circles include Africa, India, Malaysia and Singapore, and the percentages of the coverage are 4.8%, 5.9% and 1.1%, respectively. The percentages of the Expanding Circle countries are 41, 47 and 48%. Based on the results, it is clear that the percentages of the Expanding Circle countries increase somewhat over time, while those of the Inner and Expanding Circle countries fluctuate more. In contrast, the coverage of the Outer Circle countries only accounts for approximately 1-6%, and the Outer Circle countries are clearly underrepresented in all the textbooks.

The subtle increase in the percentage of Inner Circle representation may be due to the coverage of Canada (3, 8 and 19%), while the percentages for the USA decline (37, 25 and 19%). For example, in the 2000s editions, Canada is introduced as a multicultural society in which a Japanese man marrying a Canadian woman lives and has a Chinese friend (NH1 2006, 2010).

Among the Expanding Circle countries, the coverage of Asia is notable. While the percentages of the coverage of Asia are 28%, 40% and 40%, those of other

Table 2. Distribution of continents and countries applying Kachru and Nelson's model.

Categories of countries	1980s	1990s	2000s
Total	N=lessons (%) 123 (100%)	N=lessons (%) 118 (100%)	N=lessons (%) 87 (100%)
Inner Circle	66 (53.6%) England 10 US 45 Canada 4 Australia 6 New Zealand 1	54 (45.7%) England 10 US 30 Canada 8 Australia 5 New Zealand 1	42 (48.2%) US 17 Canada 17 Australia 8
Outer Circle	6 (4.8%) India 1 Malaysia 1 Africa 4	7 (5.9%) India 1 Malaysia 1 Singapore 2 Africa 3	1 (1.1%) Singapore 1
Expanding Circle Asia	51 (41.4%) 34 (27.6%) China 3 Japan 31	56 (47.4%) 48 (40.6%) China 4 Japan 41 Korea 1 Thailand 1 Turkey 1	44 (50.5%) 35 (40.2%) Bangladesh 1 China 5 Japan 22 Korea 3 Nepal 2 Thailand 2
Other than Asia	17 (13.8%) France 11 Norway 1 Switzerland 2 Sweden 1 Egypt 2	8 (6.7%) Austria 1 France 2 Norway 1 Peru 1 Brazil 3	9 (10.3%) Austria 3 France 4 Easter Island 2

Expanding Circle countries are 14%, 7% and 8%, respectively. This appears to indicate that the EFL textbooks recognise the diversified statuses of English in the Asian contexts (Honna 2000, 2008). Examples from the text content include: a Japanese student sightseeing in China; the exchange of emails among Japanese, South Korean, Singaporean and Thai students; Japanese people living in Singapore; and a Japanese student engaging in volunteer work in Bangladesh and Nepal. Based on the results in Table 2, not only English-speaking countries such as Australia, Canada and the USA but also non-English-speaking nations become more commonly featured in the 1990s and 2000s textbooks.

As shown in Table 2, the coverage of Japan is 25% in the 1980s, 35% in the 1990s and 28% in the 2000s. Based on those percentages alone, the coverage of Japan in the textbooks accounts for more than a quarter of all representations through the textbooks. To further examine the coverage of Japan in the textbooks, the results for US coverage are used as a reference because Japan and the USA are the only countries consistently featured in all the textbooks. Over the three decades, the USA is present in 37%, 25% and 19% of the editions, respectively. Although the coverage of the USA in the 1980s exceeds even that of Japan, Japan appears more frequently after the 1990s. Based on this result, it appears that Japan's early focus (in the 1980s) is indeed on the USA and its cultures, while its focus shifts towards Japan itself in the later editions.

The representation of types of groups located in Japan

To further examine how the internal diversification of Japan is described, Table 3 summarises the characteristics of individuals living in Japan. Despite the general view of Japan as a racially and ethnically homogeneous nation, Table 3 shows that Japan is indeed represented in the textbooks as a multicultural society where people from the Inner Circle countries live. In the 1980s, three nationalities are found: Japanese, American and Australian. The 1990s textbooks feature the most varied groups: Japanese, Ainu or Japanese indigenous people, American, Australian, Brazilian, British, Canadian, Singaporean and German. The 2000s editions feature four nationalities: Japanese, American, Australian and Canadian.

Interestingly, the Ainu is the only indigenous group described in the textbook (NH3 1997). Within the lesson 'Living Together', one of the Ainu's folk stories called 'Charanke, the Fox' is included. This suggests that Japan acknowledges at least part of its indigenous culture and tradition. However, compared to the representation of other individuals located in Japan, the Ainu has no interactions with contemporary people but is only described in a historical account.

With respect to the predominant types of interactions between Japanese and others, the Japanese had interactions with other Japanese, Americans and Australians. In other words, interactions essentially took place among the Japanese and individuals from the Inner Circle countries. However, a new type of interaction, international marriage, was also found in the later editions. An American husband and a Japanese wife were portrayed as residents in Japan (NH1 1997), along with a Japanese husband and an Australian wife in Australia (NH1 2002) and a Japanese husband and a Canadian wife in Canada (NH1 2006, 2010). This may be taken to represent not only the awareness of Japanese emigration overseas and foreign immigration to Japan but also suggest a growing positive attitude towards racially and ethnically mixed persons in Japan as well as other nations.⁴

In this analysis, it is found that while ethnic characteristics (e.g. nationalities) are often provided, there are no characteristics provided in the texts that would allow the identification of a person's race (e.g. white and black), except for the term 'African-American' found in one episode dealing with the history of rock music (NH3 1993, 44). Moreover, the terms 'race' and 'ethnic' are exchanged when Singapore is introduced in three editions (NH1 1993; NH2 1997, 2002). 'Races' is used to describe

Table 3. Nationalities of individuals living in Japan, by decade (N=individuals).

1980s	1990s	2000s
(Total 126)	(Total 156)	(Total 130)
Japanese (62)	Japanese (78)	Japanese (65)
American (55)	Ainu (1)	American (28)
Australian (9)	American (45)	Australian (26)
	Australian (8)	Canadian (9)
	Brazilian (7)	Unidentified (2)
	British (2)	
	Canadian (6)	
	Singapore (4)	
	German (1)	
	Unidentified (4)	

residents in Singapore in the 1993 edition, but it is replaced by 'ethnic groups' in the 1997 and 2002 editions.

Discussion

Based on the results, four main points about the representations in the Japanese EFL textbooks should be raised. First, Japan was most frequently featured among all the countries represented in the 1990s and 2000s editions, although the coverage of the USA exceeded that of Japan in the 1980s. Thus, this study concurred with the previous studies such as Hino (1988) and Matsuda (2002). In those EFL textbooks, the English language was referred to as an important tool to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds. With these increased representations of the diversified uses of English, it seems that Japan expanded its own interaction with other nations through the English language. At the same time, however, the inclusion of Japan might show that the nation strongly intended to reinforce a sense of cultural solidarity as well as maintain its own interest of learning about other cultures.

Second, segregation and integration were found in terms of Japanese attitudes towards 'others'. Even though Japan was described as multicultural or multiethnic, the community represented in the textbooks was made up of only newcomers from overseas, excluding oldcomers such as *zainichi* Koreans or Korean descendents. Even when the Ainu's folk story was introduced, contemporary Japanese citizens did not communicate with the Ainu in the text. No interaction took place between the Japanese and their domestic ethnic groups within the textbooks. Moreover, Japanese interactions most frequently took place with those from English-speaking countries (i.e. the Inner Circle countries). This could be interpreted that the Japanese gain the power or authority of the English language through primarily Inner Circle interactions. From another observation from the 2000s editions, there was a new tendency of describing Japanese immigrants marrying individuals in the Inner Circle countries. These show an increasing commonness of intercultural relationships between Japan and the Inner Circle countries but also represent Japan's maintaining its international position through gaining the power of the English language.

As a third characteristic, the English language textbooks increasingly expressed broader views of the world over time, featuring non-English-speaking as well as English-speaking countries. More precisely, English uses and users in the Inner and Expanding Circles almost equally appeared in the most recent editions. In contrast, the Outer Circle countries were underrepresented throughout all the editions, and the coverage even decreased over time. This underrepresentation may reflect unequal power relations in the global economy. It seems that the spread of English can help to bridge societies and peoples, whereas it can also create power divides. With the rise of globalisation, the English language (i.e. capitalistic ways of thinking) further imposes itself within many nations, including non-English-speaking countries. Globalisation thereby tends to standardise and homogenise everyday lives. As a result, the spread of the English language accompanies this tendency.

Finally, the ethnic diversity within Japan and Japanese migration overseas represented in the textbooks reflect the positive acceptance of both internal and external multicultural phenomena. Within the Japanese EFL textbooks, the significance of race and ethnicity might be appreciated, and yet the understanding of race and ethnicity remains ambiguous. For example, as reported earlier, the terms 'races' and 'ethnic' were stated interchangeably in the textbooks. Because the notions

of race and ethnicity are socially constructed categories (Kivisto 2002), this changing word-usage may symbolise ambivalence in using the two concepts of race and ethnicity. Another possibility for this changing expression may result from a reconstruction of the meaning of diversity, which reflects a recognition of '[t]he renewed and reconfigured salience of ethnicity in recent decades' due to the consequences of globalisation (Kivisto 2002, 2). Therefore, this reconstruction can be interpreted as one condition of post-racial/ethnic societies as argued by Healey (2010) and Hollinger (1995).

Implications and conclusion

As the spread of English has diversified its functions and roles, this spread has created new meanings and identities as users have appropriated the language in various contexts. The findings suggested that although various continents and countries of the English-speaking community were represented within the reviewed textbooks, those were mainly composed of Inner and Expanding Circle countries. Moreover, Japan's internal diversity represented in the textbooks was constituted primarily by the Japanese and citizens from the Inner Circle. It seems, then, that the EFL textbooks indicate power divides among represented nations' economic statuses, as well as Japan's insufficient attention to its own diversity.

If communicative skills are important in learning foreign languages, Japanese students should be trained to learn about and understand international/intercultural relations. Various patterns of English communication in the Japanese context can be included in Japanese EFL textbooks. Drawing upon Honna's perspective (2000, 2008) of English as a multicultural language, I suggest that varieties of English in non-Anglo-American contexts (e.g. Japan) should be valued and taught explicitly so that students may learn to successfully communicate also with those from the Outer and other Expanding Circles. More coverage of various English users in non-Anglo-American contexts would greatly enhance the future content of Japan's English language textbooks. This intentionally multicultural education may help to develop positive attitudes about multicultural realities in contemporary Japan and further reduce prejudice and discrimination against local people of diverse backgrounds.

In this sense, the increased representation of Japanese cultural components in the EFL textbooks may be appropriate and make sense to users of the EFL texts. Moreover, this inclusion of Japan has also suggested at least two implications. One is the relevance of teaching diversity through studying English as a multicultural language. As the English language increasingly belongs to more people and is used for more purposes, it also becomes a platform for learning about anti-racist attitudes. The other implication emerging from the inclusion of Japanese cultural components within the EFL textbooks is Japan's ambivalent attitude towards 'diversity'. On the one hand, the power of the English language is accepted to promote Japanese socio-economic mobility, especially within the Inner Circle. On the other hand, including Japanese context within the textbooks may also intend to maintain Japanese national identity and resist the tendency towards cultural homogenisation spread by the use of English. This ambivalence accompanying the diversification of English reflects the complexity of the racial and ethnic phenomena in contemporary societies.

If diversity within Japan is considered important to promote the nation's socio-economic mobility (The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century 2000), educators and students need to engage in discussions about the

significance of diversity. Racial and ethnic diversities are sources of conflict, inequality and tension in societies where the dominant group imposes its power to maintain cultural, political and economic positions, and minorities are consigned to a subordinate position. Displaying 'diversity' and/or 'differences' in the textbooks merely shows awareness but does not necessarily promote discussions of the tensions associated with racial and/or ethnic diversity. Thus, EFL learners' and teachers' discussions should involve understanding struggles, conflicts and tensions that each group experiences. Furthermore, these discussions will lead students and teachers to shed light on local issues. For example, the discussion on human rights in a domestic as well as global context has not yet but could be included in the Japanese EFL curriculum.

In recognition of textbooks' limited space to thoroughly cover all aspects of diversity, I argue that educators have to go beyond the text to help students understand that there are varieties of English use around the world. In other words, educators need to more explicitly consider possible issues that students will face in the future when they come to communicate with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Moreover, EFL students and teachers should be encouraged to think and reflect about their own emerging identities within a society shedding belief in its homogeneity.⁵ These recognitions will be extremely helpful to cultivate students' and teachers' understanding of non-western cultures and languages (Kubota 1998) because they will further lead to recognising how individual perspectives affect interactions. In this sense, the approach of 'English as multicultural' (Honma 2000, 2008) will bring EFL learners' attention to the domestic diversity in Japan where multicultural communication takes place. To be fully informed, the EFL learners need to be taught both the concepts of race and ethnicity and what they mean for both their nation/society and for the nations/societies with which they may have contact. Race and ethnic relations are global issues which cross national boundaries. Even at the beginner level, such as in the Japanese junior high school, EFL teachers have to treat students as capable of sophisticated responses to global and local issues.

Further empirical research will be needed in the following three areas. First, researchers need to investigate how learners of English as a foreign/second language understand racial and ethnic issues when they study communicative English. In particular, researchers should examine how junior high and high school students recognise racial and ethnic relations in Japan as well as around the world. This type of research would enable educators to create lessons that build on students' previously held conceptions. Second, researchers should examine how teachers in the field of English as an international/foreign language incorporate their understanding of racial and ethnic relations in discussions in the classroom. Because teachers need to acquire skills and experiences to create an open environment for discussing prejudice and discrimination, this research would provide evidence to encourage teachers to reflect upon their own attitudes. Finally, researchers should investigate how race and ethnicity are taught in university curricula. For instance, university professors who train future teachers should also recognise and problematise the issue of race and ethnicity. Since societies have experienced multicultural phenomena, it is expected that more Japanese teachers will have to teach in racially and ethnically integrated settings. This type of research will generate evidence that will enable both university professors and teachers to learn and teach racial and

ethnic diversity, and thereby, produce students aware of the complexity of conducting global communication.

Notes

1. This study was funded by the 2008 Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne Research Grant. The early version of this paper was presented at the 2009 annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP).
2. Among a number of scholars discussing the conflict and contradiction between Japanese nationalism and the desire of internationalism during the 1980s and 1990s, Schoppa (1991, 70), for instance, states that Japan's international education is 'designed to train an elite but compartmentalised corps of workers able to work in the English language and in Western culture'. Therefore, Japan's early emphasis of *kokusaika* focused on its communication through westernisation and, more specifically, Americanisation.
3. According to Yamada (2006), many pictures and drawings used in Japanese junior high schools' EFL textbooks are cartoon-like and even black and white. Unless texts offered specific terms that would determine one's race and ethnicity, physical characteristics were not even identifiable. Therefore, to be as precise as possible, I only focused on textual indicators of race and ethnicity for this analysis.
4. As of 2007 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2010), the countries of female spouses for the Japanese international marriage were ranked as: (1) China; (2) Philippines; and (3) both South and North Korea, while the countries of male spouses were: (1) South and North Korea; (2) the USA; and (3) China. These data indicate the marriages officially registered in Japan but does not necessarily include international couples living overseas. Therefore, the textbook representation still projects some of the realities in Japan and overseas in countries such as Australia and Canada.
5. Given the concept of post-racial and -ethnic conditions (Healey 2010; Hollinger 1995; Maher 2005), a key research inquiry in the field of EFL education is to examine how learning English influences individuals' views and experiences of diversity involving other cultures and languages (Kubota and McKay 2009). In addition, a new emerging concept of 'metrolingualism' theorised by Otsuji and Pennycook (2009) will be helpful to further investigate how one construct and negotiate identities through contemporary language practices.

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